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University of Michigan

THE "ART DE CONTEMPLACIO"
OF
RAMON LULL.

PUBLISHED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND A STUDY
OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE AUTHOR.

DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY
WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY,

BY

FRANCIS LEJAU FROST.

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY COMPANY.

1903.

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TO

DR. CHARLES CARROLL MARDEN

AS A TOKEN OF THE APPRECIATION OF HIS PUPIL

THIS TREATISE

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

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NOTE.

This study of the *Art de Contemplacio* is the outcome of a suggestion made to me in the spring of 1898 by M. Alfred Morel-Fatio to undertake the editing of Ramon Lull's religious romance, the *Blaquerna*. I began to carry out the work suggested by making a copy of the MS. of the *Blaquerna* which exists in the National Library of Paris, and then went, in the summer of the same year, to Munich, where I copied the MS. belonging to the Royal Library in that city. Returning to New York in the autumn of 1898, the work remained in abeyance till the following summer, when, being again in Europe, I took the opportunity presented of collecting material in Paris, and also made a visit to Barcelona and Palma de Mallorca in search of other MSS. of the *Blaquerna*. In Palma I not only copied a MS. of the fifth book of the *Blaquerna*, but gathered other information bearing on the subject. In the course of a brief stay in Munich, in the latter part of the summer, I procured photographs of some portions of the MS. in the Royal Library of that city by means of which I could work directly upon the MS. at my own convenience. Returning to Baltimore in the autumn of 1899, I found myself provided with the material necessary for carrying out the work contained in this thesis.

PREFACE.

This book of the *Blaquerna*, the *Art de Contemplacio*, has been chosen as the subject of the present thesis, not only because it offers a text of small compass, which, being complete in itself, could be readily detached from the frame-work in which it is set; but also for the reason that it is contained in three MSS. which would be serviceable in the construction of the text. In view of the character of the work required, these considerations seemed to justify the selection of such a treatise as by its nature is devoid of general interest. The object of this thesis is threefold :—

First, it is an attempt to settle such questions as had been left in abeyance by those who had previously occupied themselves with the *Blaquerna*, adding such new material as it was possible for the present writer to acquire—all this with reference primarily to the *Art de Contemplacio*, although it has sometimes been necessary, as in the case of the discussion of the date of the *Libre de Amich e Amat*, to touch upon certain questions pertaining to other parts of the *Blaquerna*.

Secondly,¹ the present writer has attempted to constitute a text of the *Art de Contemplacio* which should give an adequate idea of the language and form of the original.

And thirdly, a study is made of the language of the text as shown in the phonology and morphology.

¹The two latter portions of the thesis, here referred to, are, as yet, unpublished.

Mr. U

ABBREVIATIONS.

- A. C.* = *Art de Contemplacio.*
Al. Doc. = Alart, *Documents des Comtés de Roussillon et de Cerdagne.*
A. F. C. = *Mélanges de Littérature Catalane: L'Amant, la Femme et le Confesseur.* *Romania*, x, 497 ff.
B. = MS. of Palma.
Bl. = *Blaquerna.*
D. D. = *Duels et Défis.* *Revue des Langues Romanes*, vi, 361 ff.
Dant. = Vidal's *La Comedia de Dant Allighier.*
E. B. = *Catalanisches Streitgedicht.* *Zeitschrift f. Rom. Phil.*, i, 79 ff.
E. S. = *Version Catalane de l'Enfant Sage* in *Études Romanes Dédiées à Gaston Paris*, 181 ff.
Études = *Études Historiques et Philologiques* by Alart.
Estudios = *Estudios sobre Historia, Lengua y Literatura de Cataluña* by Milá y Fontanals.
Feyts = *Libre dels Feyts del Molt Noble Rey En Jacme.*
G. Z. = *Gottesgerichtlichen Zweikampf z. Barcelona.* *Zeitschrift f. Rom. Phil.*, xiii, 98 ff.
Gr. = *Grundriss d. Rom. Phil.*
L. M. = *Libre de Maravelles*, published by Hoffman.
L. C. = *Mélanges de Littérature Catalane: Livre de Courtoisie.* *Romania*, xv, 192 ff.
Labernia = *Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana* by Labernia y Esteller.
M = The MS. of Munich.
M. Cat. = Modern Catalan.
Notes = *Notes sur Trois Manuscrits* by Milá y Fontanals in the *Estudios.*

- O. B. = *Ordinacions y Bans del Comtat d'Empurias* in the *Revue des Lang. Rom.*, xv, 18-47, 179-182.
- O. Cat. = Old Catalan.
- O. R. = *Obras Rimadas de Ramon Lull*, published by Rosselló.
- P = MS. of Paris.
- P. A. = *Recherches s. la Chronique catalane attribuée à Pierre IV d'Aragon* in *Romania*, xviii, 233.
- R. = *Romania*.
- R. L. = Ramon Lull.
- R. L. R. = *Revue des Langues Romanes*.
- Rev. Hisp. = *Revue Hispanique*.
- Secret. = *Version Napolitaine du Secretum Secretorum. Romania*, xxvi, 74 ff.
- S. S. = *Sieben Weisen Meister*, published by Mussafia.
- Sp. Tr. = The Spanish Translation of the *Blaquerna* of Menéndez y Pelayo.
- Z. = *Zeitschrift f. Rom. Phil.*
- V. = Valencian Edition of the *Blaquerna*.
- Vid. Doc. = Vidal, *Documents des Comtés de Roussillon et de Cerdagne* in the *Revue des Lang. Rom.*
- V. T. = *Visio Tundali. Zeitschrift f. Rom. Phil.*, iv, 318 ff.

PHONETIC SIGNS.

š = voiceless palatal spirant.

ž = voiced " "

č = voiceless " explosive.

ġ = voiced " "

þ = voiceless interdental spirant.

ð = voiced " "

/ over a consonant indicates its palatalization.

o under a consonant indicates that it is voiceless.

g = e muet.

Figures, such as, ²/₄, refer to the page and line of this edition of the *Art de Contemplacio*. A folio cited without further reference, as, F^o. 268, refers to the MS. M of the *Blaquerna*.

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I. THE NAME "BLAQUERNA."

Baist has enumerated the following sources in which the name is found written *Blanquerna*:¹ Monac. Cod. Lat. 10512 ms. s. XIV; Monac. Cod. Lat. 10553 ms. s. XIV; Monac. Cod. Lat. 10525 ms. s. XIV-XV; the MS. M; the Valencian Edition; the XV c. MS. of the poem *Senyer Ver Deus* mentioned by Rosselló;² the Spanish translation of 1749, and the citation of Salzinger, *Catalogus*, III, 6, 21, 41. To these sources may be added the following authorities for the name *Blanquerna*: Cod. Lat. CXVI-class. III, and Cod. CXCIH-class. III, of the National Library of St. Mark at Venice;³ the MS. B;⁴ the *Llibre de Maravelles*, part II, p. 44;⁵ the title of the lost Perpignan MS. cited by Vidal;⁶ the title of the lost MS. of Count Rodrigo Alfonso Pimentel cited by Beer;⁷ the title of the lost MS. which belonged to the *Escuela Luliana* at Barcelona;⁸ the Spanish edition of the *Amigo y Amado*; Sor Ana Maria's edition of the *Amich e Amat*.

On the other hand, the following works write the name *Blaquerna*: The MS. P; Monac. Cod. Lat. 10525 ms. s. XIV-XV; the Latin edition of the *Amicus et Amatus* of Paris, 1505; the Latin edition of the *Amicus et Amatus* of Paris, 1632; the two XIV c. French MSS. 763 and 24402 of the National Library at Paris,⁹ and the French edition of Geneva, 1890.¹⁰ Thus, the weight of evidence of the various sources is greatly in favor of

¹Z., III, 90-91.

²*Obr. Rim.*, 23.

³Cf. p. 38.

⁴This is one of the MSS. from which Rosselló prepared his edition of the poem *Senyer Ver Deus*. Cf. *Obr. Rim.*, p. 23.

⁵Edition of Rosselló, Palma, 1886: *Blaquerna* appears in this book as a hermit.

⁶*R. L. R.*, XXXII, 333 ff.

⁷*Handschriftenschatze Spaniens*, p. 106, No. 61.

⁸*El Testamento de Ramon Lull y la Escuela Luliana en Barcelona*, p. 33, No. 63.

⁹*R.*, VII, 156.

¹⁰This is probably a translation of the Paris edition of 1505.

the form *Blanquerna*. But there is a MS. of the greatest importance, the testimony of which seems to discredit the evidence in favor of the spelling *Blanquerna*. This is the Latin MS., Cod. CXVI—class. III, of the National Library of St. Mark at Venice, which was presented by Ramon Lull to the Doge.¹ This MS. contains the following autograph dedication by Ramon Lull: "Vobis illustri domino Petro Gradonico inclito Venetiarum Duci et honorabili vestro consilio et Communi vestro Venetiarum, Ego, magister Raymundus Lul, Cathalanus, transmitto et do istum librum ad laudem Dei, honorem vestrum et Communis vestri Venetiarum et exaltationem fidei Catholice et confusionem omnium infidelium—quia liber iste precipue ad hec conditus fuit et est, et de sancta fide Catholica certitudinem dat. Set (*sic*) supplico quod nobilis vir dominus Petrus Geno possit habere ussum de ipso quamdiu sibi placuerit."²

In the *Liber Amici et Amati*, contained in this MS., the name in question occurs twelve times, and of these occurrences ten plainly show the form *Blaquerna*, without an *n* in the first syllable. The following is an exact reproduction of each occurrence of the name in this Venice MS.: F^o. 188 r^o. (1) *blaquerna*; (2) *blaḡnā* (acc.); (3) *blaḡrna*; (4) *blaquerne* (gen.); (5) *blaquerna*; (6) *blāḡrna*; (7) *blāḡrña*; (8) *blaḡrña*;—F^o. 188 v^o. (9) *blaḡrna*; (10) *blaquerna*; (11) *blaḡrna*;—F^o. 195 r^o. (12) *blaquerna*.⁴

Thus, only in the case of nos. 6 and 7 is there any support for the form *Blanquerna*; and no. 6 is probably only a displacement of the bar, for had the scribe meant to write *Blanquerna*, he would either have prolonged the bar so as to cover the *qr* also, or he would have made a bar over both the *a* and the *qr*. As to no. 7, in view of the ten other occurrences of *Blaquerna*, it is probable that the bar over the *a* in this case was a mere scribal oversight.

If Ramon Lull did not write the MS. under discussion, he must certainly have been familiar with it; and it is impossible to believe

¹ Cf. p. 38.

² Fo. 1.

³ This transcription is taken from Obrador y Bennassar's article, *Ramon Lull en Venecia*, in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, Junio-Julio, 1900, p. 303.

⁴ I am indebted to Dr. Salomone Morpurgo, Director of the National Library of St. Mark, for a diplomatic copy of those parts of this MS. in which the name occurs.



that he would have allowed so important a name to be misspelt. Here, then, apparently is the sanction of Ramon Lull for the form *Blaquerna*.

As to the origin of the name, there seems to be no suggestion more satisfactory than that made by Morel-Fatio¹ and accepted by Baist;² namely, that it is derived from the *Palatium Blachernarum* at Constantinople. It is significant in this connection that only a short time before writing the *Blaquerna*, according to Pascual,³ Ramon Lull had made an extensive journey to the East, and had visited, among other places, Greece and Turkey. Consequently, if Pascual's data are correct, we have strong evidence in support of Morel-Fatio's suggestion as to the origin of the name.

If the correct form of the name, then, is *Blaquerna*, how does it happen that in a majority of the MSS., editions and other sources it is written *Blanquerna*? The intercalation of the *n* cannot be due to a phonetic peculiarity either of Catalan or of modern Greek, for, as Baist has said,⁴ such a phenomenon is not characteristic of either language. Nor is it possible to believe that the intercalation or omission of the *n* is due solely to scribal blunders, if the great length of the MSS. and the frequent recurrence of the name be considered, and, too, the fact that the name is not always abbreviated, but is frequently written out in full. But even if such a theory were otherwise tenable, it is not supported by facts; for, if it were true, we should be forced to recognize a close relationship between the MSS. M and B, both of which write the name *Blanquerna*; whereas, as stated below,⁵ all other indications tend to prove that these two MSS. are not closely allied, but rather that B belongs to the same family of MSS. as P, and the latter writes the name without an *n* in the first syllable. If the name, then, was originally written *Blaquerna*, we are driven to the conclusion that certain scribes intentionally intercalated an *n* in the first syllable of the word, whereas other scribes conscientiously copied the name as found in the MSS. before them.

What was the reason, then, for intercalating this *n*? It seems likely that the scribes being ignorant of the origin and real mean-

¹ R., VI, 504, note 1.

² Z., III, 90.

³ *Vida del Beato Raymundo Lulio*, I, 261 ff.

⁴ Z., III, 90.

⁵ Cf. p. 48 ff.

ing of *Blaquerna*, and being impelled by a feeling that the name was intended to exhibit the character of the hero (that is purity, gentleness, docility), they attributed the omission of the *n* in *Blaquerna* to the carelessness of the preceding scribe, and wrote the name *Blanquerna*. This tradition, of the symbolical significance of the name, as pointed out by Morel-Fatio,¹ was no doubt nurtured by the passage found in the MS. M:² "Blanch e vermell e ros fo Blanquerna." The Valencian edition renders the passage thus:³ "Blanch, ros, fresch, colorat e dispost era Blanquerna," and the editor explains in a marginal note⁴ that the passage is the "exposicio del nom de Blanquerna." Thus, there is no doubt that at the time of the appearance of the Valencian edition, in 1521, the name had come to be regarded as allegorical. Similarly, Sor Ana Maria, in her edition of the *Amich e Amat* of 1760, commenting upon the name interprets it as meaning "flexible y blando como el jumento que se deja regir al arbitrio de los que lo gobiernan."⁵

There is a similar perversion of another proper name in the *Blaquerna*; namely, *Natana* or *Nathana*, which is always written in one of these two ways in M and P (it does not occur in B). This name is evidently allegorical, and a feminine formation on *Nathan*. The Valencian editor, however, has mistaken *na* for the title of address (*domina*) and changing the *t* to *c*, invariably writes the name *na Cana*.⁶ In a similar manner, he changes *Nastasia* (that is *Anastasia*) to *na Stasia*.⁶

¹ l. c.

² F^o. 22 r^o.

³ F^o. XL v^o. col. II.

⁴ Cf. Pascual, *Vida del B. R. L.*, I, 266.

⁵ The fact noted by Baist (*Z.* III, 90) that Muntaner in his Chronicle uses the form *Blanquerna* in referring to the *Palatium Blachernarum* at Constantinople, seems to indicate only that Muntaner appreciated the origin of the name of Lull's hero and in mentioning the palace adopted the form of the name which was current in his own country.

⁶ Cf. V. F^o. XX, r^o. col. I.

II. CATALAN THE LANGUAGE USED BY RAMON LULL.

It has been supposed¹ that when Ramon Lull wrote in the vernacular he used a mixed, or provençalized, form of language such as is found in the MS. P; for it was held to be improbable that at so early a period there should have existed a pure and unprovençalized literary language in Catalan countries. There is no ground for holding such a theory at the present time in view of the numerous early texts which are now accessible and which exhibit Catalan in a pure and well-developed form, free on the whole from Provençal admixtures. Baist has shown not only that Catalan was the common language of intercourse in the time of Ramon Lull, but also that since the year 1259 the chanceries of Majorca, Valencia, Barcelona and Urgel all afford a succession of documents written in pure Catalan.² In 1881, Alart also published his *Documents des Anciens Comtés de Roussillon et de Cerdagne*, in which we find genuine Catalan forms scattered through Latin documents of as early a date as the year 1050; and from 1283 onward the documents are written throughout in pure Catalan. In regard to Ramon Lull, the evidence furnished by his own works shows clearly that the language used by him in prose was pure Catalan.

All of Lull's prose works that have been published by Rosselló, Aguiló y Fuster and Hoffmann, in many cases from fourteenth century MSS., are written in pure Catalan. The MS. P appears to be the only case in which a provençalized form of language is used in Lull's prose works. It is true that in the *Obras Rimadas* we find a language similar to that of P, but it must be borne in mind that early Catalan poetry, in contrast to prose, exhibits a constant tendency to provençalisms.³ Compare in this regard the

¹ Lemcke, Z., II, 340. Vidal, R. L. R., XXXII, 333 ff.

² Z., III, 95-96. Cf. also Pers y Ramona, *Historia de la Lengua Catalana*, 102, 103.

³ Cf. p. 35.

various poems published in *Romania*, as the *Nouvelles Inédites Catalanes*, edited by Paul Meyer, where we find, often in rhyme, such forms as, *ay* < HABEO; *pensaray* < PENSARE + HABEO; *fayt* < FACTUM;¹ *adreyts* < AD + DIRĒCTOS; *streyts* < STRĪCTOS,² etc. But, while the *Obras Rimadas* abound in provençalisms, we find a sufficiently large number of Catalan forms in rhyme to prove that Ramon Lull did not hesitate to make use of Catalan even in poetry. Examples of such are: *fets* < FACTOS; *fer* < FACĒRE; *mes* < MAGIS; *delit* < DELĒCTUM,³ etc.

In consideration of the facts above mentioned, the provençalized language of P is not to be regarded as the norm used by Ramon Lull in prose, but as an attempt of a scribe to introduce into prose such provençalisms as were common in poetry.

¹ *R.*, XIII, 264 ff. lines 5, 17, 8.

² *R.*, XX, 199, lines 39, 40.

³ *Obras Rimadas*, pp. 355, 356, 374, 376.

III. THE DATE OF THE BLAQUERNA.

Pascual has maintained that the *Blaquerna* was written at Montpellier in 1283.¹ He bases his argument mainly upon the fact that Ramon Lull says in the *Blaquerna*: "En una villa qui es apellada Monpesler, en la qual fo fet aquest libre de Evast e Blanquerna, hac un gran capitol general de preycadors."² This allusion, Pascual says, must be to the general chapter of Preaching Friars which was held in Montpellier in 1283. There was another general chapter of these religious held in the same city in 1294, but Pascual shows that at this time Ramon Lull was in Naples,³ and the *Histoire Littéraire* agrees with him in this opinion.⁴ While this fact alone cannot be regarded as evidence that the *Blaquerna* was written in 1283, it establishes the fact, if Pascual's theory is correct, that it was written at some time subsequent to the council of Preaching Friars held in 1283. On the other hand, the *Blaquerna* is closely connected with the *Libre de les Maravelles*, and was probably written before the latter⁵ because one of the characters in the *Libre de les Maravelles* is Blaquerna, the hermit.⁶ Now the *Libre de les Maravelles* was written in 1286,⁷ hence the *Blaquerna* was written at some time previous to this period. But, again, the *Blaquerna* could not have been finished before 1285 because in that year a general chapter of the Preaching Friars was held in Bologna⁸ and Ramon Lull refers to this event in the *Blaquerna* in the following words: "Esdevenchse una vegada que un fill de conte anava a Bulunya per ohir leys, e lo cardenal qui anava a Bulunya, on devia esser capitol general dels preycadors, encontrá's

¹ *Vindiciae Lullianae*, I, 142. *Vida del B. R. L.*, I, 314 ff.

² V. Fº. XCIX, rº. col. II. In this and several subsequent cases where the reading of *m* is given the reference is made to *v* rather than to *m* because that of *m* was unknown. The versions of the MS. and the edition are similar.

³ *Vida del B. R. L.*, II, chapt. XVII.

⁴ Vol. XXIX, 21.

⁵ *Hist. Litt.*, XXIX, 347.

⁶ Cf. *Libre de les Maravelles*, edition of Rosselló, part I, 44 ff.

⁷ *Hist. Litt.*, XXIX, 345. *Vida del B. R. L.*, I, 363.

⁸ *Vida del B. R. L.*, I, 347.

ab aquell fill de compte."¹ This account is evidently an allusion to his own experience while on the way to the council here mentioned. Consequently, we conclude that the *Blaquerna* was written between the years 1283 and 1286.

The conclusion thus reached is also confirmed by the evidence of certain facts, which, although not affording in themselves sufficient grounds for establishing the date of the *Blaquerna*, at least add supplementary proof to that already given.

I. In the *Blaquerna*, Ramon Lull refers to six of his other works all of which were written before 1283, whereas there is no allusion to any book of his written after that date. The works to which reference is made are the following :

1. *Libre de Doctrina de Princep*.²
2. *Libre del Gentil e dels Tres Savis*.³
3. *Ars Compendiosa Inveniendi Veritatem*. Referred to a number of times.⁴
4. *Doctrina Pueril*. Referred to a number of times.⁵
5. *Libre del Sant Sperit*.⁶
6. *Lo Gran Libre de Contemplacio*.⁷

All of these books were written before, or during, Ramon Lull's period of life at Miramar, which extended from 1276 to 1280.

II. In the *Blaquerna* allusion is apparently made to the following historic facts, which had taken place before, or during, the year 1283 :

1. The following statement occurs : "Esdevenchse un dia que un rey vench a cort, e feu clams a l'Apostoli de un rei qui l'avia deseretat e gitat de son regne sens tort que no li tenia."⁸ Now, Alfonso X of Castile, having been driven from his kingdom by his son Don Sancho, appealed to the Pope for intervention in his behalf; and in 1283 Martin IV issued a brief ordering prelates and nobles to yield obedience to Alfonso, and threatened with excommunication all who remained refractory.⁹ This seems to correspond with the above statement in the *Blaquerna*.

¹ V., F^o. xciv, v^o. col. ii.

² V., F^o. xciv, v^o. col. i.

³ V., F^o. xxxiii, r^o. col. ii.

⁴ V., F^o. cv, v^o. col. i.

⁵ Lafuente, *Historia General de España*, vi, 94.

⁶ V., F^o. cxxxix, r^o. col. i.

⁷ V., F^o. lxxxv, r^o. col. ii.

⁸ V., F^o. xciv, r^o. col. ii.

⁹ V., F^o. c, v^o. col. ii.

2. The following statement is found in the *Blaquerna*: "En aquel temps s'esdevench que dos reys Crestians molt nobles e molt poderoses havien gran guerra e gran contrast; e eren se arremits de batalla. Lo cardenal ab letres de l'Apostoli ana als dos reys per ço que'ls pacificas . . ."¹ The narrative then goes on to relate how the Pope endeavored to conciliate the two kings by making presents to each of them, and by inducing them to turn their arms against the infidels in Palestine. Pascual supposes, and apparently justly, that the two kings here referred to are Philip III of France and Alfonso X of Castile.² Philip III had proceeded to make war against Alfonso X on account of a dispute between Don Sancho, son of Alfonso X, and the Infantes de la Cerda growing out of a question of the succession to the Castilian throne. Pope Nicholas III, however, intervened and requested the two sovereigns to desist from war and to settle the disputed question by means of a conference, urging them to turn their arms to a better account by employing them against the infidels. Accordingly a conference was held at Bayonne in 1280.³

3. The fourth book of the *Blaquerna*, which is entitled *Lo Libre de Apostolical Estament*, is almost exclusively devoted to a relation of the reforms in the Church, which Blaquerna, who had been elevated to the Papal throne, endeavors to bring about. These reforms consisted in the pacification of Christian kings, who were fruitlessly warring against one another, and the attempt to cause them to turn their arms against the Mussulmans, the common enemy of the Christian faith; the direction of the Pope's energies chiefly to spiritual matters rather than to political affairs; the reform of the worldliness and licentious living of all classes and ranks of the clergy; the adoption of a harsh and rigorous policy toward the Jews, compelling them thus to accept the Christian faith. It seems probable that the idea of such reforms was not due entirely to Ramon Lull's imagination, but that it had been suggested to him, in part at least, by the acts of one of the Roman Pontiffs of that period. And, in fact, the reign of Gregory X, who ascended the Papal throne in 1272 and reigned till 1276, was characterized by just such measures of reform as those inculcated

¹ V., Fº. LXXXV, rº. col. II.

² *Vida del B. R. L.*, I, 288.

³ Lafuente, *op. cit.*, VI, 86.

by Ramon Lull in the *Blaquerna*, standing out in marked contrast to those of the preceding and subsequent Popes.

4. Lastly, the Khan of Tartary had recently been converted to Christianity by two Dominican monks, and in 1269 had sent an embassy to King James I of Aragon, requesting him to organize a crusade against the infidels.¹ Allusion is made in the *Blaquerna*² to the conversion of the Khan and the sending to him of five minor friars, which took place in 1278.³

The allusions to these various events, all of which occurred before, or during, the year 1283, and the apparent lack of similar references to incidents subsequent to that period, tend to confirm the conclusions reached above in regard to the date of the *Blaquerna*.

THE DATE OF THE 'LIBRE DE AMICH E AMAT' AND OF THE 'ART DE CONTEMPLACIO.'

Is the *Amich e Amat* later in date than the first four books of the *Blaquerna*? The *Histoire Littéraire*⁴ supposes that the *Blaquerna* had at first only four books, that the fifth, the *Amich e Amat*, was not written until later, and that in 1311 there were two distinct parts of the *Blaquerna*; namely, the first four books, and the fifth book. The basis of this theory is that in the Catalogue of 1311 the *Liber Brachernae* and the *Liber Amici et Amati* are mentioned separately. This, however, does not seem sufficient proof of the theory; for each one of the three extant Catalan MSS. (two of which belong to the fourteenth, and one to the fifteenth or sixteenth century) and the Valencian edition of 1521 contain the *Amich e Amat* as an integral part of the *Blaquerna*. Nor is there any positive proof that there ever was a copy of the *Blaquerna*, which did not contain the *Amich e Amat*. On the other hand, the *Amich e Amat* has been copied, or printed, a number of times apart from the other books of the *Blaquerna*, probably because this treatise was made use of by religious, or other Christians, as a book of meditation, which could be more conveniently handled if bound alone. As evidence of this we may cite the various MSS.

¹ Lafuente, *op. cit.*, VI, 44.

² Pascual, *op. cit.*, I, 271.

³ V., F^o. LXXXIV, v^o. col. II.

⁴ XXIX, 253.

and editions of the *Amich e Amat* in Catalan, Castillian and French.¹ It seems, therefore, that the separate citation of the *Blaquerna* and of the *Amich e Amat* by the compiler of the Catalogue of 1311 indicates only that the latter book was known to him in a MS. by itself, and not that he regarded it as independent of the *Blaquerna*.

Apart from the question just discussed, the fact that the *Libre de Amich e Amat* may be readily detached from the frame of the romance in which it is set without either interrupting the thread of the narrative or in any way detracting from the value of the treatise, might, perhaps, give ground for supposing it to have originally formed a book by itself which was later inserted into the *Blaquerna*. But, on the other hand, when we consider the nature of the *Blaquerna*; namely, that it is an essentially realistic portrayal of the life of a devout Christian, written for the edification of others in the different states of life pertaining to that religion, it seems not unnatural that, when the hero of the romance enters upon the heremital state, he should be represented as producing a book of meditations upon God, the essential aim and pursuit of the hermit, for the instruction of others in that same condition of life. The object of the *Blaquerna* was to set forth the perfect type of the Christian, whether as laic or cleric; and just as, for instance, in the *Libre de Prelatura*, all those affairs peculiar to the office of a bishop are exemplified in the life of the hero, so in the fifth book of the *Blaquerna* the perfection of the heremital state is shown, not only in the portrayal of the daily life of the hermit *Blaquerna*, but also by the exposition of the results of a contemplative life in a book of meditations upon God. The thread of the narrative is thus lost for a time; but this is the necessary result of the plan of the book, all of whose parts are more or less loosely interwoven.

There is no positive evidence that the *Amich e Amat* was written later than the preceding portions of the *Blaquerna*, nor is there any tradition which ascribes to it a different date from other parts of the romance. Hence, without proof to the contrary, and in consideration of the connection between it and other parts of the *Blaquerna*, as shown above, it is justifiable to assign to this book the same date as that of the *Blaquerna*.

As to the *Art de Contemplacio*, what has been said above in regard to the relations of the *Amich e Amat* to other parts of the

¹ Cf. pp. 37 ff.

Blaquerna apply equally to this book. It consists of a description of the hermit Blaquerna's method of contemplation, and, like the *Amich e Amat*, is intended for the instruction of others in this supreme business of the religious; hence it is rightly to be considered as belonging to that portion of the *Blaquerna* which treats of the heremital life. As to its date, Ramon Lull infers that it was written immediately after the *Amich e Amat*, as will be seen from the following statement found at the end of the latter book: "Cor Blaquerna havia a tractar del libre de la Art de Contemplacio, per ayo volch finir lo libre de l'Amich e l'Amat. . . ." So that, admitting the *Amich e Amat* to have been written at the same time as the other books of the *Blaquerna*, we may assign to the *Art de Contemplacio* a date within the year 1285 or 1286.

Nota.—It is a curious coincidence that just as in the fifth book Blaquerna renounces the Papacy to become a hermit, in the same way Pope Celestine V, who ascended the pontifical throne August, 1294, abdicated in December of the same year in order to resume the life of a hermit, which he had previously led, and had been urged to abandon for the Papacy. A note of recent date on the last cover of the MS. P suggests that the *Blaquerna* was dedicated to Celestine V, and one might be inclined to think that the plan of the latter part of the *Blaquerna* had been suggested to Ramon Lull by Pope Celestine's abdication, and consequently that this portion was not written till 1294, or later. On the other hand, the *dénouement* of the *Blaquerna* is not only such as would be expected in view of Ramon Lull's ardent espousal of the heremital life, but is also a logical outcome of the whole plan of the romance; for Blaquerna is represented in the beginning of the book as setting out to become a hermit, and is only temporarily deterred from the fulfillment of his purpose by the acceptance of certain duties which he deemed it the Divine will that he should undertake. When, however, the occasion finally arrives he is portrayed as immediately laying hold on it, and as fulfilling the original purpose of his life by becoming a hermit. In the absence, therefore, of any further evidence the parallel between Celestine's life and that of Blaquerna is to be regarded as a mere coincidence, and the whole *Blaquerna* is to be considered as the work of the same period—1283–1286.

IV. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

There are three extant Catalan MSS. of the *Art de Contemplacio*, two of which originally contained the whole *Blaquerna*, and the third only the fifth book.

1. The first of these MSS. is preserved in the K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek at Munich: "610 (Hisp. [Cat.] 67)." The catalogue of the library ascribes it to the fourteenth century, but its date may be more precisely assigned to the first third of that century. The MS. is in quarto, transcribed on paper a single column to a page. It has been carefully written, and there are only a few corrections due to the original scribe; but a reviser of the sixteenth century has occasionally made an emendation, or added a marginal note, giving in some cases the Latin title of a book referred to in the text. The same reviser has apparently compared the text of the *Amich e Amat* in the MS. with that of the edition of 1521, inserting up to thirty-five numbers before each verse of the former to correspond with the numbering of the verses of the latter, and indicating by a similar device the absence in the MS. of some portions which are found in the printed edition. Except for certain mutilations, which will presently be noted, the MS. contains the whole of the *Blaquerna*, and is in good preservation, only rarely a letter or a word being illegible.

The MS. at present consists of 268 folios, but the first fifteen folios and part of folio 16, as well as portions of 17, 18 and 19, are lacking; consequently, the number of folios in the unmutated MS. was 284. The MS. begins, on F^o. 17 r^o., thus: "Ne pusquem esser nudrits en tal manera que a Deu siem agradables," which corresponds in the edition of Valencia to F^o. VII, v^o. I.

The MS. bears no indications which would give a clue as to its origin; but in regard to its previous history it may be stated that it was one of the collection of Lullian MSS. which the Palatine Elector, Johann Wilhelm (1690–1716), brought from Barcelona to enrich his library. It remained in Mannheim until 1803 when it

was brought, together with the other MSS. of the Palatine collection, to the library at Munich.¹

The language of this MS. is pure Catalan with but very occasional traces of Provençalisms. The three *lacunae* and a large part of that portion which is lacking from the beginning of the Paris MS. are supplied by this one; it is thus by far the most important of the three MSS. which serve as a basis for the present text of the *Art de Contemplacio*.

2. The second MS. is preserved in the National Library at Paris: "*Fonds Espagnols*, 478." A detailed description of this MS. has already been given by Morel-Fatio,² who attributes it with certainty to the first half of the fourteenth century, and is inclined to place its date within the first third of the same century. The MS. is in small folio written in double columns on parchment. It contains at present 107 folios; 27, however, are lacking from the beginning. Three *lacunae*, which occur between folios 47 and 48, 48 and 49, 56 and 57, are, as has been said above, all supplied by M and the Valencian edition. The MS. is well written. There are only a few corrections by the contemporary reviser; but a hand of the sixteenth century has made various emendations, which occur rarely throughout the work, but frequently in the *Libre de Amich e Amat*. At the beginning of the latter book (F^o. 74 r^o.) we find the following note of the sixteenth century reviser: "Multum oportet haberi aliquod exemplar antiquum." The emendations referred to have been introduced by the reviser after a comparison of the MS. with the Latin and vernacular versions, but the latter are not taken from the Valencian edition.

The origin and history of the MS. are unknown, but it can be gathered from several notes made by its successive owners in different parts of the book that it formerly belonged in Spain. On the reverse of the last folio we read: "Aquest es lo libre qui es den Bernat (Bnt) Garau (Gaū) e sera mentra Deus ho vulla."³ This note is of the fifteenth century but the succeeding ones are of

¹ This information in regard to the history of the MS. I owe to the courtesy of Dr. F. Boll of the Royal Library of Munich.

² *R.*, VI, 506.

³ For the transcription of these notes I am indebted to Morel-Fatio's article in *R.*, VI, 507.

the sixteenth century. On the inside of the last cover is found: ". . . . E hurtado, quien le perdió venga cercarlo hon de llara como. En la villa de Ybeça (Ibiza) a veinte de março— Conosco yo sancho de ynosa te hurte de una parocha por mandamiento de Hernando de Lor" Lastly, in a blank space on the second column of F^o. 38 r^o. is found: "En la villa de Medina. Jeronimo." On the reverse of the same folio is also found a crude pen sketch of St. Peter and the cock. Morel-Fatio is inclined to believe that this MS. was not written outside of Spain.

The language of the MS. is strongly provençalized; the case forms of adjectives and substantives, however, are not observed, there being but one form for the singular and one for the plural. Two exceptions to this statement are to be noted in *senher* and *Dieus* by the side of *senhor* and *Dieu*, but even in these cases the scribe was evidently unfamiliar with the proper use of these different forms, so that we find *Dieus* and *senher* used as accusative singular and *Dieu* and *senhor* used as nominative singular. This leads to the conclusion that the MS. was probably written by a Catalan scribe, who persistently provençalized the Catalan original rather than by a Provençal scribe. Mussafia has pointed out a similar ignorance of the proper use of case forms in the *Sete Savis*,¹ nor is it uncommon to find Provençal forms used in Old Catalan poetry, and particularly in that of this period. Thus, in the poetical works of Ramon Lull we find both the Provençal and Catalan forms of the same word used in the rhyme;² in the poetry of the fourteenth or fifteenth century MS. of the *Histoire de Frodino et Brisona*, published by Paul Meyer,³ a number of Provençalisms are found. In fact there was a general tendency to employ Provençal forms in early Catalan poetry, so that it is not surprising that a Catalan scribe should have set himself the task of provençalizing a Catalan text as he copied it.⁴

3. The third MS., preserved in the Biblioteca Provincial of Palma de Mallorca, bears no library number. It contains only the fifth book of the *Blaquerna*. This MS., which consists of 212 folios, is in quarto, bound in parchment and is written on paper

¹ *Sete Savis*, § 73.

² Cf. *fer* and *far*, *Obras Rimadas*, 261.

³ *R.*, xx, 579.

⁴ In regard to the treatise *De la Passion de Jesucrist*, included in P, see p. 36 ff.

one column to a page. It is in good preservation and there are but few corrections, except in the *Libre de Amich e Amat*, where a number of words and sentences, which had at first been omitted, are added in the margin. These corrections appear to be of the same date as the original script. The MS. appears to have been written by two, and, perhaps, three scribes. It is considerably later in date than either M or P, and probably belongs to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. The use of the form *sou* (< *SŪTIS) for *sots* is, apart from other evidence, an indication of the comparatively late date of the MS. since the development of *ts* to *u* in the second person plural of verbs was a late change—probably of the end of the fourteenth century.¹ This MS. came into the possession of the Biblioteca Provincial from the suppressed monastery of St. Dominic in Majorca, to which it originally belonged, as is indicated by the following note upon the fly-leaf: "Es de la libreria del Real Convento de S. Domingo." Of the 212 folios in the volume, the first 146 are devoted to other works of Ramon Lull; namely, *Libro del Gentil y de los Tres Savis* (in part only); *Libro del Desconsuelo de Raymundo*; *Libro de los Oien Nombres de Dios*; *Coplas que hizo Lulio sobre el Arte de la Alquimia*; *Libro de Consolacion*; *Libro de Primera y Segunda Intencion*; *Libro de los Mil Proverbios que hizo Raymundo Lulio*; *Del Modo con que las Qualidades de los quatro elementos se hallan en Varios Mixtos para la Instruccion de los Médicos*. The fifth book of the *Blaquerna* commences, on F°. 147 r°. thus: "Comença lo quint libre de vida hermitana. En qual manera Blanquerna renuncia al papat," which corresponds to the edition of Valencia, F°. 104 r°.²

From the fact that this MS. contains both the *Libre del Gentil e los Tres Savis* and the *Blaquerna* in part only, we may assume that it was intended to form a *thesaurus* of Ramon Lull's works.

Note.—Both the MSS. P and B as well as the Valencian edition and the Spanish translation of 1749 include in the *Art de Contemplacio* a small treatise of about three and a half folios, entitled,

¹ Alart, *R. L. R.*, XII, 109 ff. Baist, *Z.*, XII, 527.

² The MS. B has been mentioned and its contents enumerated by Morel-Fatio in his *Rapport S. une Mission phil. à Majorque*, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XLIII, 474.

De la Passio de Jesucrist. In P and in the two editions this treatise is inserted between the chapters, *De la Encarnacio* and *Del Pater Noster*; in B it is found between the chapter *De Vicis* and the last sentence of the *Art de Contemplacio*. The treatise evidently did not form a part of the *Art de Contemplacio* or of the *Blaquerna*; for the editor of the Valencian edition, in a marginal note, says: "Hoc unum caput de Passione in solo uno compertum est originali de multis quos habuimus."¹ Furthermore by comparing Ramon Lull's list of twelve subjects to be treated in the *Art de Contemplacio* it will be seen that the treatise in question is not mentioned.² How, then, did it come to be included in P and B and in the editions? Probably because in the common original of P and B this treatise was bound up with the *Blaquerna*, and the scribes of these two MSS., thinking that it formed a part of that book, inserted it in the *Art de Contemplacio*—that part of the romance where it would be most fittingly treated—and it passed into the editions from one of the MSS. Consequently, the treatise has been excluded from the present edition of the *Art de Contemplacio*.

The following MSS. of the whole, or of portions, of the *Blaquerna*, which have come to the writer's notice, should be mentioned here.

ROMANCE MANUSCRIPTS.

1. The three fourteenth century MSS. 763, 12555, and 24402, of the National Library at Paris, containing a French translation of the *Blaquerna*.³

2. A French MS. of the *Amich e Amat* contained in the Latin MS. 14713 of the National Library at Paris.

3. A Majorcan MS. of the seventeenth century in the possession of D. Gerónimo Rosselló of Palma. This MS. of 200 folios (circa), in octavo, contains the text of the *Amich e Amat* with a commentary on each verse.

4. A Majorcan MS. of 1680–90, belonging to D. Jaime Garau of Palma, in three volumes, octavo, containing the text of the *Amich e Amat* with a commentary by Sor Ana Maria.

¹ F^o. CXXVII, v^o. I.

² V. F^o. CXX, r^o. I.

³ R., VII, 156; *Hist. Litt.*, XXIX, 254.

LATIN MANUSCRIPTS.

1. Codex CC—Class VI (vol. v, p. 38 del catál.) of the National Library of St. Mark at Venice. This MS., which contains the *Amicus et Amatus*, (F^o. 188–195), is of special interest because it was presented by Ramon Lull to the Doge of Venice and contains Lull's autograph dedication.¹ It belongs to the end of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth, century.

2. Codex CXVI—Class III (vol. iv, p. 24), of the National Library of St. Mark. This is a thirteenth century MS. containing the *Amicus et Amatus*. (F^o. 112–128.)²

3. Codex CXCI—Class III (vol. iv, p. 38), a fourteenth or fifteenth century MS. of the National Library of St. Mark.³ This MS. contains complete the first book of the *Blaquerna* and a portion of the second book, including a part of the chapter which begins: "Juxta illas horas unde Blanquerna ambulabat" . . . etc., which corresponds to Chapter LVI, F^o. XLIV, v^o. II, of the Valencian edition. This MS. is interesting as being the only Latin version, so far as is known by the present writer, of any part of the *Blaquerna*, except the *Amicus et Amatus*.

The two following Latin MSS. of the Royal Library of Munich are cited by Baist.⁴

4. Cod. Lat. 10525, ms. s. XIV–XV. This MS. contains the *Amicus et Amatus*. (F^o. 40–52.)

5. Cod. Lat. 10553, ms. s. XIV, containing the *Amicus et Amatus*. (F^o. 86, v^o.—115.)

LOST MANUSCRIPTS.

Besides the three Catalan MSS. M, P, B, there must have been others which contained the whole *Blaquerna*; for the editor of the Valencian edition speaks of the "many MSS." which he had made use of in preparing his edition: "Hoc unum caput de Passione in solo uno compertum est originali de multis quos habuimus."⁵ Since the chapter *De la Passio de Jesucrist*, is contained in both P and B,

¹ Obrador y Bennassar, 'Ramon Lull en Venecia.' *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, Junio-Julio, 1900, p. 303.

² *Ibid.*, 305.

⁴ *Z.*, III, 90–91.

³ *Ibid.*, 309–310.

⁵ F^o. CXXVII, v^o. I, marginal note.

but not in *M*, it follows that the Valencian editor could not have had before him more than two of the three MSS. to which we have access; he must, therefore, have made use of several MSS. which have now been lost.

The Spanish translator of the edition of 1749¹ states that, besides the Valencian edition, he had made use of an ancient Limousin MS. which was preserved in the convent of St. Francis of Assisi in Majorca: "Advierito finalmente que en cuanto á la fidelidad de esta traduccion, se ha procurado fuese la mas puntual; por lo que, á mas del exemplar Valenciano, nos hemos valido de un antiguo manuscrito lemosino que se conserva en Mallorca en la libreria del Real Convento de N. P. S. Francisco de Assis de los Padres Menores de la Observancia."² The MS. referred to cannot be *M*, since this MS. had already been carried to Germany by the Palatine Elector Johann Wilhelm (1690-1716);³ nor was it *B*, since this MS. contains only a comparatively small portion of the *Blaquerna*. It may have been *P*, but this is unlikely for we should then expect to find in *P*, among the various notes mentioned above,⁴ some allusion to its former ownership by the monastery of St. Francis, as in the case of *B*. More probably, the "Antiguo manuscrito lemosino" has been destroyed, or its whereabouts are unknown.

In an article by P. Vidal, entitled, *Une Bibliothèque Lulienne à Perpignan vers 1435*⁵ there is an inventory of the works of Ramon Lull, known or possessed by the scribe. In this list we find the citation: "3. Item. Un altre apellat Blanquerna, comença 'Jhū Xst honrat Deus glorios' e fenex 'aquest libre es acabat, Deus sia beneyt.'"

In the *Primer Inventario de Muebles y Libros de la Escuela Luliana*⁶ (in Barcelona), we find the *Blaquerna* mentioned as one of the books belonging to that school.

Finally, Beer mentions a MS. of the *Blaquerna* which existed formerly in the private library of the Count D. Rodrigo Alfonso Pimentel: "Blanquerna en papel cebti menor, con tablas de papel cubierto de cuero cardeno."⁷

¹ Cf. p. 46.

² Avisos al Lector, pp. 17-22. (This pagination refers to a MS. copy of the edition of 1749, which is in the National Library at Madrid.)

³ Cf. p. 33.

⁴ Cf. p. 34.

⁵ *R. L. R.*, xxxii, 333 ff.

⁶ *El Testamento de R. L. y la Escuela Luliana en Barcelona*, p. 33.

⁷ *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens*, p. 106, no. 61.

V. EDITIONS OF THE BLAQUERNA.

THE EDITION OF VALENCIA.

On the 30th of May, 1521, Johan Bonlabij¹ issued from the press of Johan Joffre in Valencia an edition of the *Blaquerna* which he had edited at the request and expense of Gregori Genovart,² Canon of the Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca. This edition is a book in quarto of 151 folios, and bears the following title: "Blanquerna, qui tracta de sinch estaments de persones: De Matrimoni; de Religio; de Prelatura; de Apostolical Senyoria (la qual es en lo Pare Sanct y en los Cardenals); y del estat de Vida Hermitana Contemplativa; debax los quals tots son contenguts. Hordenat per lo Illuminat Doctor y Martyr, Mestre Ramon Lull. Traduit y corregit ara novament dels primers originals, y estampat en llengua valenciana ab lo llibre de Oracions y Contemplacions del Enteniment en Deu, fet per lo matex Doctor."³

The text is preceded by an *Epistola Proemial* of nearly two folios, addressed by the editor to Gregori Genovart. This prologue may be described as a polemical eulogy, in which, while reciting the virtues and accomplishments of the Enlightened Doctor, he makes a defence of Lull and his tenets against the attacks of their adversaries. The chief value of the prologue for us, however, lies in the reference which the editor makes to the nature of his edition. He says that he has translated and revised the *Blaquerna*: "lo qual ara novament s'es traduit, corregit."⁴ As to the language of the originals from which he translated, the

¹R., vi, 507, note 3.

²L. c., note 4.

³This edition is somewhat rare; a copy is found in the National Library at Paris (cote D. 5697), and there are seven or eight copies in the various libraries of Palma, several of which belong to the Biblioteca Provincial. D. Gerónimo Rosselló, of that city, possesses a copy which he has kindly lent me for the present work. In the Royal Library of Munich there is a seventeenth century copy of this edition quoted thus in the Catalogue of the Library: "611 (Hisp. [Cat.] 68.)"

⁴Fº. + II. vº.

editor himself speaks of it as "Limousin" when, in addressing Gregori Genovart, he says: "Reverent Senyor, puy lo Blanquerna es ja estompat y correcte al manar de V. R., haonque no ab tant rich stil de paraules com requir la majestat de sentencia que tracta (majorment en lo. v. libre), lo qual per servarla ensemps ab alguna gravitat antiqua y dolça memoria de aquell bon temps, li havem fet retenir acordadament alguns vocables de la *lengua llemosina primera* que mal no parexen, y li havem notades algunes coses per los margens y sumaris, que porta a major descans y prompta memoria dels lectors a qui en aço havem tant solament entes utilitar."¹

If there arises any doubt as to the propriety of speaking of a translation from Catalan into Valencian, it is removed, so far at least as the editor is concerned, by his statement that the latter language was to him (being a Catalan) unfamiliar and foreign: "a mi peregrina y strangera."² As a parallel the similar use of the word 'translate' by the scribe of the seventeenth century Majorcan MS. of the *Amich e Amat* may be cited.³ He speaks in his prologue of translating from Limousin into Majorcan: "Libre de Amich e Amat . . . *traduyt* de lengua limosina en nostra vulgar mallorquin."⁴ It is evident, then, that by the word *traduit*, the editor meant a turning of the old Catalan of the MSS. into modern Valencian and a rejuvenation of the archaic language;⁵ but not a translation from Latin into Romance. For had the latter been the application of the word *traduit*, the Valencian editor would certainly not have spoken of the *lengua llemosina primera*, and he would of necessity have made some allusion to the Latin original, which is not mentioned either in the prologue or in the marginal notes.

This edition is of great importance because it contains the first part of the *Blanquerna*, which is lacking in M and P, and for the reason that it supplies a number of *lacunae* of small extent which occur in all the MSS. As an aid to the construction of the text, however, its usefulness is limited chiefly to those cases in which all the MSS. are defective; because in "translating and correct-

¹ Fo. + III, v^o.

² Fo. + v^o.

³ Cf. p. 37.

⁴ Title-page of the MS.

⁵ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Blanquerna*, I, xxv, note.

ing," the editor does not seem to have felt himself bound to hold to the readings of MSS. when possible; but has allowed himself great freedom, not only in changing words and constructions, but also in interpolating and rescinding certain portions, when it seemed necessary to him to make the reading of the text clearer.¹ As examples of unwarranted changes the following are cited:

F^o. CXXI, r^o, 1: "Après d'estes paraules dix lo enteniment a la memoria y a la voluntat de si matex lo semblant estament que ell havia al estament dels dos en contemplar lo Sobiran Be." The reading of the constructed text, from which none of the MSS. differ in any essential point, is: "Après aquestes paraules dix l'enteniment a la memoria e a la volentat de si mateix semblant estament al estament de la memoria e de la volentat en contemplar lo Subira Be." (12/7.)

F^o. CXXVI, v^o, II: "Altra vegada puja sa memoria y son enteniment a la granea, bondat, poder, saviesa, amor y perfeccio de Deu; y en la granea de aquelles virtuts entes lo seu enteniment que Deus pogue" etc.

All the MSS. read: "a la granea de la bonea" etc. (69/3), and this is evidently the correct reading as is shown by the context.

F^o. CXXVII, r^o, 1: "Molt pensa y contempla Blanquerna." All the MSS. lack *pensa*, which the editor has introduced by way of amplification. (70/2.)

F^o. CXXVII, r^o, II: "En les virtuts e dignitats de Deu." All the MSS. lack *dignitats* (73/6), which the editor has inserted not only here, but in a number of other places after *virtuts*. Cf. v. CXXXIII, r^o. 1.

F^o. CXXXI, r^o, II: "Que nosaltres pugam al teu regne glorios arribar, y esser en aquell benaventurats perdurablement." The MSS. read "Que nos pugem al teu regne gloriejar perdurablement." (80/3.)

F^o. CXXXII, v^o, II: "De aquesta manera contemplava Blanquerna en la Ave Maria y en Nostra Senyora ab les virtuts de son Fill." The reading of the constructed text, from which none of the MSS. differ essentially, is: "Enaxi contemplava Blaquerna en la Ave Maria Nostra Dona ab les virtuts de son Fill." (96/7.)

¹ Menéndez y Pelayo in his edition of the *Blanquerna*, I, p. xxxviii, speaks of the "frases con las impertinentes y nada felices alteraciones del editor valenciano."

A great number of similar changes might be cited, but those noted above are sufficient to show to what an extent the value of the edition as an aid to text-construction has been impaired, and how different, in many cases, its text is from the original.

As to the sources of the edition, the editor speaks in a marginal note¹ of the "many" MSS. to which he has had access, and it is certain he must have had others than the ones known to us; for in some instances the edition gives the correct reading of passages which are corrupt in all the MSS. under our control, and in other cases it supplies their *lacunae*. As an instance of this the following sentence of the constructed text is cited: "E majorment [con] la consideracio dobla remembrant a quella bonea tan gran [en] eternitat que no ha començament ni fi." (7/10.) All the MSS. give unsatisfactory readings, though M is more correct than the others. The reading of V is: "E majorment com dobla la consideracio d'aquella bondat tan gran en eternitat que no ha començament ni fi." (F^o. CXX, v^o, II.)

On p. 22/34 a *lacuna* in all the MSS. embracing the words: "Virtut e per aço sots vos pus vera amor que nulla altra," is supplied by V. (F^o. CXXII, r^o, I.)

Did the editor of the Valencian edition make use of any of the extant MSS.? A marked similarity in certain points between M and the edition make it probable that he used this MS. in the construction of his text. The following cases of concurrence between M and the edition are cited:

M^{110/10}: "la Sgleya romana." V, CXXXIV, v^o, I. "la Esglesia romana." Whereas the reading of P is: "la Gleiza," and of B: "la Esglesia." Either of these readings would be admissible.

M^{106/2}: "Segons relacio del primer." V, CXXXIII, v^o, II, has the same reading. But both P and B lack this clause. Its presence or absence does not affect the meaning of the sentence.

M^{71/4} and V, CXXVII, r^o, I both read: "la Santa Terra;" but P and B read "aquella Sancta Terra."

M^{25/8}: "aytal consideracio." V, CXXII, v^o, I: "tal consideracio." In both instances the singular is used; but in P and B the plural is employed: P: "aitals considerations;" B: "aytals considerations."

¹ F^o. CXXVII, v^o, I.

M⁴/₈: "Pus suvin e pus altament" in which the order of the words corresponds to that of V, CXXIV, r°, I, "Mes sovint e mes altament." In P and B the order of the words is reversed: P: "Plus altament e plus soven." B: "Pus altament e pus soven."

M⁹/₁₀ (variants): "Qui es virtuts e de virtuts." V, CXXXII, v°, II: "Lo qual es virtuts e de virtuts." The reading of P, on the other hand, is: "Que es vertutz," and of B: "Que es virtut."

M³⁹/₂: "Senyoria, pasciencia son en creatures qualitats e en Deu son essencia; e cor calitats son luny de essencia segons comparacio de humilitat" etc. V's reading is similar, except as to details, F°. CXXXIII, v°, II: "Senyoria e paciencia son en creatura qualitats y en Deu son essencia; e car qualitats son luyn de essencia, y mes segons comparacio de humilitat" etc. On the other hand, B lacks this passage entirely, and P only includes: "Pasciencia que son en Dieu essencia."

M¹⁵/₁₆: "E totes tres les virtuts de la anima loaren e benehiren pasciencia en lo Subiran Be per totes les virtuts divines." The reading of V is substantially the same: CXXI, v°, I: "E totes les tres potencies de sa anima lloaren molt e beneyren pasciencia en lo Sobiran Be per totes les virtuts divines." P and B, on the other hand, are both corrupt. P: "E totas tres las vertutz divinas adoron a Dieu." B: "E totes les virtuts divines ahoraren Deu."

In regard to P and B, we know that the editor of the Valencian edition did not use both of those MSS. for he says in the marginal note already cited¹ that the treatise *De la Passio de Jesucrist* was contained in only one of the MSS. before him, whereas this treatise is found in both P and B. On the other hand, there are certain cases when the Valencian edition agrees with the common reading of P and B, and sometimes, when these two MSS. differ, it agrees with one or the other. On this account, it would seem to be not improbable that the Valencian editor used in the construction of his text the original MS. from which P and B jointly derive. To illustrate this concurrence of the edition with these two MSS., or with either one of them, we cite the following examples:

P⁸²/₃ (variants): "Sanctificat." B: "Santificat." V, CXXXI, v°, I: "Sanctificat." M's reading is "Sacrificat." Either version is admissible.

¹ Cf. p. 38.

P B ⁷⁹/₆: "Procurar." V, CXXXI, r^o, II: "Procurar." M reads: "Provar."

P B ⁴⁷/₃: V, CXXIV, v^o, I: "Considera." M: "Considerava." Either reading is admissible.

P ¹⁰³/₁₀: "Molt home son dezobedient." B: "Mols homens son desobediens." V, CXXXIII, v^o, II: "Molts . . . homens eren desobedients." M, on the other hand, uses the singular: "Molt home es desobedient."

P B ¹⁴⁷/₆: "En colpa." V, CXXXVIII, r^o, II: "En culpa." M: "Encolpada." Either reading is admissible.

P ¹⁴⁷/₇: "Creatura." B: "Criatura." V, CXXXVIII, r^o, II: "Creatures." M: "Creates." Either reading is admissible.

P ¹¹⁴/₄: "Aja senhor que pusca." B: "Aja senyor qui pusca." V, CXXXIV, v^o, II: "Haja senyor qui puscha." M "Senyor: puscha." The reading of either group of MSS. would be admissible, if the corruption following this phrase in each MS. were emended.

P ³⁹/₄: "E per amor d'aisso." V, CXXII, v^o, II: "Per amor de aço." B: "E per aço." M: "Per aço."

B ¹⁰¹/₃: "Potencies." V, CXXXIII, v^o, I: "Potencies." M P: "Poders."

A peculiarity of this edition, which has not yet been mentioned, is the little summary at the head of each chapter which gives its contents somewhat in detail, and takes the place of the short rubric common to all the MSS. Another feature is the marginal notes, occurring sometimes with considerable frequency. These notes serve various purposes; they may either explain the meaning of a passage, refer to a similar passage in some other book, cite in full the title of some work referred to in the text, or simply index the contents of a paragraph. Both of these characteristics are mentioned by the editor in the prologue.¹

Following is an extract from the Valencian edition taken from the beginning of the *Art de Contemplacio*:²

"Comença la Art de Contemplacio, y Capítol CVIII (continuant en ella per son orde la materia de aquest quint libre), la qual feu Blanquerna en lo hermitage per elevar son enteniment en Deu, y

¹ F^o. + III, v^o.

² F^o. CXX, r^o, I.

estar tots dies en contemplacio, devocio y lagrimes de aquell qui es son Amat. Y primerament del Prolech.

"Tant es alt y excellent lo Sobiran Be, e tant es l'home baix per colpes y peccats que moltes vegades s'esdeve que'ls hermitans y los sancts homens han gran treball en pujar llur anima a contemplar en Deu; e com art y manera tal sia ajudant a estes coses, per tant Blanquerna considera que fes Art de Contemplacio per tal que per aquella se ajudas a haver contricio en son cor, y llagrimes y plors en sos ulls, e que'l seu enteniment e lo seu voler pujassen mes altament a contemplar a Deu en ses honors y dignitats y en ses captivenances. ¶ Com Blanquerna hague haguda esta consideracio, ell feu aquest llibre de Contemplacio per art, lo qual departi en dotze

Divissió de la Art en dotze parts per les quals l'home contempla principalment.

parts, les quals, son estes: Virtuts Divines, Essencia, Unitat, Trinitat, Encarnacio, Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Manaments, Miserere Mei Deus, Sagraments, Virtuts e Vicis. ¶ L'art de aquest llibre es que les virtuts divines sien

primerament contemplades les unes en les altres, e que apres sien contemplades ab les altres parts del llibre, havent per objecte l'anima del contemplador les virtuts divines en sa memoria, enteniment y en sa voluntat; e que sapia concordar en sa anima les virtuts y dignitats divines ab les altres parts del llibre en tal manera que sia a honor y gloria de les divines virtuts, les quals virtuts e dignitats

Les virtuts e dignitats de Deu primeres a contemplar.

divines son estes: Bondat, granea, eternitat, poder, saviesa, amor, virtut, veritat, gloria, perfeccio, justicia, llarguea, misericordia, humilitat, senyoria, pasciencia."

THE SPANISH TRANSLATION OF 1749.

This is a volume in 8° of 439 pp., translated anonymously, which has the following title: *Blanquerna, Maestro de la Perfeccion Cristiana en los Estados de Matrimonio, Religion, Prelacia, Apostólico Señorío y Vida Eremitica. Compuesto en lengua lemosina por el Iluminado Doctor martir invictísimo de Jesucristo y maestro universal de todas artes y ciencias, B. Raymundo Lulio. Impreso en Valencia año 1521. Traducido fielmente ahora de el valenciano y*

de un antiguo manuscrito lemosino en lengua castellana. Mallorca, en la oficina de la Viuda Frau, 1749.¹

In the "Avisos al Lector" the translator says that the MS. which he made use of was preserved in the monastery of St. Francis of Assisi in Majorca: "Nos hemos valido de un antiguo manuscrito lemosino que se conserva en Mallorca en la libreria del Real Convento de N. P. S. Francisco de Assis de los PP. Menores de la Observancia."

THE BLAQUERNA OF MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO.

In 1883 Menéndez y Pelayo published a Spanish translation of the *Blaquerna* with the title: *Blanquerna, Maestro de la Perfección Cristiana*. . . . *Con un prólogo de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo*. Madrid, 1883. 2 vols. in 8°.

The text is preceded by an introduction of 47 pp., divided into the following parts: 1. "Noticias del autor y de sus libros." 2. "Teología racional de Lulio—sus controversias con los Averroistas." 3. "Del Blanquerna y de la edición presente."

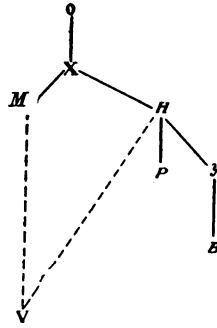
This edition is directed rather to students of the doctrines of the Enlightened Doctor than to philologists; hence, the introduction contains little of importance for those who approach the *Blaquerna* from the linguistic side. The text appears to be taken from the edition of 1749, although the editor gives us no further information on the subject than to speak of the "frases con las impertinentes y nada felices alteraciones del editor valenciano, á quien siguió harto fielmente el traductor, cuya versión reimprimimos á falta de otra mejor."² This translation usually follows closely the Valencian edition; but it sometimes differs from the latter, and in these cases the translator no doubt either allowed himself the liberty of making certain changes by way of improving the text, or, perhaps, he introduced into his edition the readings of the MS. of the convent of S. Francis of Assisi.³

¹The edition is not rare. In the National Library at Madrid, there exists what seems to be a MS. copy of this edition. Cf. *R.*, vi, 511, note 3.

²Vol. i, p. xxxviii.

³Cf. above. Salzinger, in his edition, *B. R. L.* . . . *Opera Omnia, Moguntiae*, 1721, does not publish the *Blaquerna* or any part of it. In his *Catalogus*, i, 9, no. 41, he cites "*Blanquerna Magnus*," giving a brief summary of its contents.

In view of the facts just stated, the relationship between the MSS. may be expressed by the following scheme :



o, x, H, y are hypothetical, the reasons for positing them have been explained above.¹ The dotted lines show the probable relationship between v and the MSS., already discussed.²

¹ Cf. p. 48 ff.

² Cf. p. 48 ff.

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LIFE.

I was born in Charleston, South Carolina, March 27, 1875. My collegiate studies were pursued chiefly at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee. In 1896 I entered upon graduate studies at Columbia University, New York City. In June, 1897, I graduated from the General Theological Seminary in New York City at the conclusion of a three years course in Theology, and was subsequently ordered Priest by the Bishop of South Carolina. The year 1898 I spent in Europe, chiefly in Paris, where I attended for two semesters the *cours libres* of MM. A. Morel-Fatio, G. Paris, P. Meyer, A. Thomas, and E. Berger. In the year 1898-9, I resumed my studies at Columbia University, and in the summer of the latter year returned to Europe and was engaged in research in the libraries of Paris, Munich, Palma de Mallorca, and Barcelona.

Since October, 1899, I have been a graduate student at the Johns Hopkins University, where my studies have been in Spanish, as my principal subject, with French and History as first and second subordinates, respectively. During my period of study at the Johns Hopkins and Columbia Universities I have attended the courses of Professors A. M. Elliott, C. C. Marden, H. A. Todd, A. Cohn, and A. V. W. Jackson, to all of whom I desire to express my gratitude for the benefit I have derived from their instruction. I wish here, especially, to thank Professor Marden for the training and equipment, acquired so largely from him, which have placed me in a position to accomplish this work.

In conclusion, I desire to express my grateful appreciation of the continued interest shown in this work by M. Alfred Morel-Fatio, which has been manifested on so many occasions by the invaluable aid he has offered me. I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity of thanking my friend D. Jaime Garau of Palma for his unfailing courtesy and generous assistance, and at the same time to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. F. Boll, of the Royal Library of Munich, and to Dr. Salomone Morpurgo, Director of the National Library of St. Mark, for the favors they have accorded me.

FRANCIS LE JAU FROST.

BALTIMORE, April 26th, 1901.

